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Cultus:

The Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

2022: 15

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Cultus

THE JOURNAL OF INTERCULTURAL
MEDIATION AND COMMUNICATION

Narrativity in Translation

ICONESOFT EDIZIONI - GRUPPO RADIVO HOLDING
BOLOGNA - ITALY

Registrazione al Tribunale di Terni
n. 11 del 24.09.2007

Direttore Responsabile Agostino Quero
Editore Iconesoft Edizioni – Radivo Holding
Anno 2022
ISSN 2035-3111
2035-2948

Policy: double-blind peer review

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via Giuseppe Antonio Landi - 40132 - Bologna

CULTUS

the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

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Mediating Subversive Narratives during the Greek Military Dictatorship (1967-74): A Narrative Analysis of (Self-)Censorship Techniques in the Subtitling of *Woodstock*

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Abstract

The Greek military Junta (1967-74) constitutes an authoritarian regime, remembered for its carefully orchestrated propaganda mechanism and strict control over cultural products, including cinema. Despite a growing body of literature on how Greek cultural production was informed by the hegemonic sociopolitical agenda of the time, the role of translation agents in the film censorship mechanism of this period has not been investigated to date. This paper will therefore gauge the extent to which audiovisual translation was also subjected to various forms of censorship during this period. Specifically, by drawing on the thus far under investigated subtitle archives of Michael Wadleigh's "Woodstock" (1970), it will investigate the extent to, and manner in which, Greek film translation practitioners would often engage in an act of (self-)censorship in an attempt to secure screening permissions for films. This paper envisages censorship as a productive process involving multiple (non-)state actors rather than a merely repressive act exercised by state institutions. To this end, an application of socio-narrative theory (Baker, 2006) is intended to reveal strategies through which film translation agents also modified and renegotiated aspects of the counter-narratives encoded in Woodstock. To conclude, the role and status of translation agents in the film censorship apparatus of this period will be explored, using narrative theory's key conceptual tools to facilitate the study of re-narration and translatorial agency in the historical context under scrutiny.

1. Introduction

The Greek military Junta (1967-74) has been engraved in the collective memory as a period of multilevel oppression, realized through a carefully orchestrated propaganda mechanism and the systematic censorial control of cultural products. Historical research has demonstrated how, within this strict censorial context,

cinema was also recognized as a potent propaganda tool, due to the considerable impact it exerted on the masses (Komnenou, 1999:178). This study however aims to shed light into a thus far uninvestigated field, that of audiovisual translation (AVT) practice under the Junta's seven-year rule, focusing on ways in which film subtitling was pressed into the service of (self-)censorship. More specifically, it aims to examine whether the agents who were involved in the subtitling of a subversive documentary, Michael Wadleigh's *Woodstock* (1970), attempted to modify or renegotiate aspects of the subversive narratives encoded in the film, through 're-framing'. The extent to which state-imposed censorial interventions were ultimately applied to the film will also be examined. Narrative theory, as proposed by Somers (1994; 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994), and applied in translation theory by Baker (2006), is intended to facilitate the analysis of censorial techniques, while enabling us to gain insights into the position, agency and status of film translation agents in the censorship apparatus of this period. This paper sets out to propose a holistic investigation of censored audiovisual texts; it envisages censorship as a productive rather than merely repressive process, attributing equal attention to all the stages of subtitling censorship and to the (non)state agents involved in them.

Scholars such as Dimitris Asimakoulas have investigated censorial techniques in literary translations of the period and have accounted for the cycles of opposition to censorship both before and after its lifting in 1969 (2005; 2009). This research focused on literary translations of political works into Greek, and on translators' attempt to signal their opposition to censorship through textual choices, thus indirectly promoting narratives of resistance and social reaction (*ibid.*). A number of scholars have also investigated cultural production under the Junta (1967-74), placing particular emphasis on the central role played by television, music and cinema in the propagation of the regime's dominant socio-political doctrines (Komnenou, 1999; Kolovos, 2002; Glavinias, 2018). These studies have offered accounts of the workings of the regime's censorial mechanism, their main focus being placed on state-run censorship as imposed on national cinematic productions. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, the practices of preventive self-censorship, as exercised specifically in the field of AVT during this period, have not yet been explored.

Recent debates in the field of AVT history have signalled a need to extend the boundaries of research beyond the traditional conception of equivalence in the linguistic sphere and focus more "on unmasking the rationale behind ideologically motivated changes and by contextualizing them within a wider socio-cultural environment" (Díaz-Cintas, 2012: 279). Against this backdrop, a number of scholars have shown how AVT practices contributed to the emergence and consolidation of dictatorial regimes in other countries, by conceptualizing dubbing as a product of censorial manipulation exercised by fascist regimes (Danan, 1991;

Gutiérrez Lanza, 2002; Vandaele, 2002; Mereu Keating, 2012; 2016). Research conducted by Vandaele (2002) on film censorship under General Franco's rule in Spain has shed light upon the ways in which censorship Boards completely reshaped certain films and eliminated traces of subversive humour and offensive language, promoting through dubbing doctrines of national Catholicism and religious puritanism. Díaz-Cintas has also exemplified several ways through which the dubbing of an ideologically subversive film in Francoist Spain completely altered the messages of the original, in a way that echoed the puritanical dogmas of "the repressive, despotic regime of the epoch" (2019: 197).

In her works, Baker (2005; 2006; 2008) rejects the concept of translation as an inherently innocent practice and views the notion of a flexible and constructed narrative as "a meta-code that cuts across and underpins all modes of communication" (Baker, 2006: 9), and as a point of departure in examining the extent to which translation decisions are "embedded in and contribute to the elaboration of larger narratives" (2010: 4). This paper will thus attempt to expand on previous research by focusing for the first time on the subtitling practices exercised during the Greek military dictatorship, while this time using the tools provided by narrative theory to investigate the extent to which this practice was informed by the regime's attempts to construct and disseminate narratives of moral conservatism and anti-communism. It will simultaneously explore the censorial action of various (non)state agents, while still recognizing the distinctions and power differentials existing between them in the enactment of censorship.

In September 1967, the newly constituted regime of the colonels re-enacted the provisions of the dictatorial Metaxas government of the 1930s and the German Occupation Laws of the 1940s, intensifying the level of repression (Glavinas, 2018). This time, more emphasis was placed on the notion of religious conservatism, and on the youth's moral education and protection from "harmful influences" (*Official Gazette* 27.09.1967, my translation). Cultural products were now expected to comply with the ultra-conservative aesthetics of the regime, promoting values of Greek ancestry [πατρις], religious puritanism [θρησκεία], and family unity [οικογένεια]. Film distribution companies were still legally obliged to submit a screening license application to the General Secretariat for Press and Information, the institution responsible for the examination of films prior to their national distribution. In this application, companies would include copies of the films they wished to distribute, along with a summary of the film, and finally, in the case of imported foreign films, a separate document containing the Greek subtitles of the film in question.

2. *Woodstock*: the adventures of a film

Woodstock is an award-winning 1970 documentary film about the legendary counterculture Woodstock music Festival, directed by Michael Wadleigh. The film had its Greek premiere on November 29th, 1970, after securing screening permission from the General Secretariat for Press and Information and a film evaluation Board appointed by it. Wadleigh, who was present at the premiere in Athens, stressed the importance of the screening in Greece during his interviews (Segditsa, 1970). For him, the *Woodstock* screening in Athens was of utmost sociopolitical importance, as he believed that “the documentary’s strong political dimension was particularly relevant to the Greek political situation” (qtd. in Douvlis 2013).

The film was imported to Greece by Damaskinos-Michaelides S.A., a major distribution company importing on average 200 foreign films per year (Georgiadis, 1969). It underwent a series of censorial interventions and was subjected to both scene and dialogue cuts, enacted in multiple stages, despite the “unsuitable for minors under 17 (with no cuts)” classification it had already received (re-examination chronicle document,¹ *Woodstock* license application 1970, GDPI film index).² Around 4000 people gathered to watch the premiere scheduled for the morning of November 29 for free. The cinema could however only accommodate 2000 (Troussas, 2021). The second screening, scheduled in response to the unprecedented interest, was cancelled by the police because of what they saw as the audience’s provocative reactions in response to the film, as well as the level of disturbance created by those who had not been allowed entrance (ibid.). Following the incidents, the police detained eleven attendees (Police report, GDPI film index). The screenings continued for five more days (*Woodstock* license application 1970, GDPI index), though the events of the premiere had already created concerns among military officials and were raising fears of potential social unrest. The Police sent an official letter to the Ministry, where they described the “frenzied and anarchical reactions” of young viewers during the screening, expressing their fear and concern about the film’s content and negative impact on young viewers (City Police document, GDPI index).

¹ Separate document included in the application, outlining the dates of all the (re-)evaluations, appeals and classifications that the film received by evaluation committees (see Figure 1).

² A number of academic and press articles have provided accounts of the events that marked the *Woodstock* premiere at the Pallas cinema on Sunday, November 29, 1970 (Regos, 1999; Kornetis, 2008), as well as the various truths and/or (de-)politicised myths perpetuated over the years around the events that followed this premiere (Troussas, 2021).

Letters of appeal and discontent were also sent by religious and parental organizations who adopted a strong stance against the film, characterizing it as “unethical, anti-social, anarchical and morally dangerous for the youth” (Appeal letter, *Woodstock* license application 1970, GDPI index). The Board then moved on to impose a temporary suspension of screenings, which lasted for approximately two weeks. After a series of distribution company appeals and a third re-evaluation which took place in early December 1970, the film finally received a license, yet with further scene cuts, and continued to be screened in cinemas for almost two months (Varelas, 1970; 1971). It was later reported that this final decision, eventually allowing *Woodstock* to be screened in Greece, was made by the regime’s spokesperson, Georgios Georgalas (Troussas, 2021). The question arises, as to whether the film’s subtitles contributed to audience and Board member reactions, and if so, in what way.

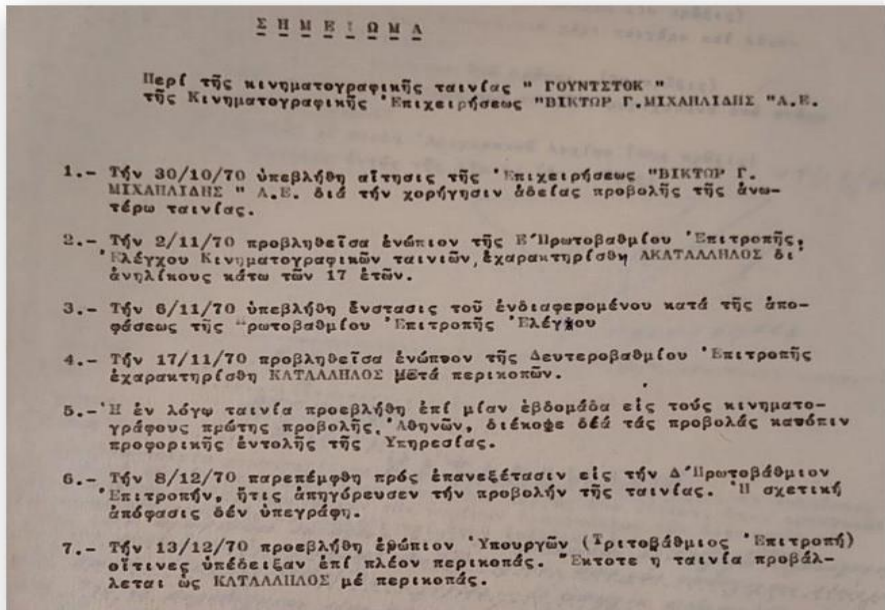


Figure 1. Note describing the chronicle of the *Woodstock* Board (re)examinations and decisions, State Archives of Greece, *Woodstock* license application, 1970³

³ The distributor appealed to the first decision on 6/11/70, requesting a “suitable for all” certification for the film. The Secondary Evaluation Committee regathered on 17/11 and decided to grant the film a “suitable for all *with cuts*” classification. The cuts pertained to shots including ideologically reprehensible language and scenes depicting nudity (Decision document, GDPI index). The film was

3. Methodology and Material

The investigation of the film's original Greek subtitles was conducted by the author in 2017, researching mainly public archives in Athens, Greece, as well as the film censorship index at the General State Archives of Greece (henceforth GSAs). The film censorship records of the General Directorate for Press and Information, henceforth referred to as GDPI, comprise sixty screening license application files for this period categorized by distribution company and submission year. Screening license applications submitted to the Directorate for approval were normally accompanied by a 35mm. original copy of the film, along with the Greek summary and a translated script into Greek. The film index created by the Greek Junta is freely accessible to researchers upon permission. It is important to note, however, that original film scripts were not normally included in screening license applications as supporting documents, and are therefore not included in the index - which means that researchers need to access them online.

Woodstock was chosen as a case study as it constitutes an overtly political and controversial film which openly promotes the anti-war movement of the 1960s. It also contains scenes of drug use, as well as direct references to hippyism, communism and anarchism - notions opposing the dominant conservative mores of the time. Such references would normally be censored, as otherwise the film producers could be summoned to the National Security Directorate (Asimakoulas, 2009: 37). This study thus aspires to investigate the extent to which the film's first Greek subtitles retained provocative sociopolitical messages, or on the contrary, resulted from an act of self-censorship.

The *Woodstock* screening license application is accessible through the Junta film index which is currently preserved at the GSAs, and comprises the Greek subtitles of the film as well as a number of other supporting documents. These reveal the censorial stages that the film was subjected to, as well as aspects of the translation process through study of the paratextual documents such as correspondence letters exchanged between the distribution company and the Board with regards to the issues surrounding the subtitling. It also includes appeal letters sent to the Directorate by religious organizations reacting against the screening of *Woodstock* in Greece, and finally, Damaskinos-Michaelides' appeal against the Board's initial evaluation of the film.

screened for a week in cinemas in Athens; these screenings were suspended after an oral request was made by the GDPI. On 8/12/70, the film was re-examined by the IV Primary Committee, which decided to suspend the screenings. This decision was however not officially signed. On 13/12/70, the film was screened in front of regime ministers, who in turn requested further cuts. The film continued to be screened as "suitable with cuts" ever since (Figure 1, my translation, emphasis added).

The subtitles of *Woodstock* were first analyzed and then closely compared with the original film, which was accessed online and through the DVD version. This procedure was then followed by an analysis of the main findings, conducted through the lens of narrative theory. Further paratextual data providing contextual historical information regarding the *Woodstock* screenings in Greece and the historical period were also retrieved from film periodicals and newspapers of the time, now collected in the Greek Film Archive Library, the National Library of Greece and the Hellenic Parliament Library. This contextual information has been used to support my evaluation and interpretation of re-narration attempts evidenced through the primary sources. Background information with regards to film (translation) censorship at the time and the usual procedures followed in the film translation market have been gathered through interviews with post-production agents (or close relatives) who were active during this period. This all helped to further my understanding and evaluation of the censorial strategies adopted in the translation of the film. Finally, a rare 35mm. copy of *Woodstock*, containing the subtitles produced during the Junta years (currently preserved in the Greek Film Archive Foundation) has also been examined to complete the holistic investigation of the film (translation) censorship process and its outcome.

The study hopes to offer answers as to whether the cuts requested by the evaluation committees were implemented and in what way. Focus will be placed on those interventions which appear to be ideologically informed rather than justified by the technical constraints of subtitling. The term “translation agents” will be used throughout the paper to describe any individuals who at the time had the capacity to participate in the production or revision of the Greek subtitles, prior to their submission for state evaluation⁴. These agents were primarily the translator and less often the film distributor, who would occasionally cooperate to reach a consensus on translation choices, especially in the case of films carrying taboo messages (interview with Panayotides, 2021).⁵

⁴ Despite the fact that the name of the *Woodstock* translator was not mentioned in the subtitle document, interview data revealed that the film was translated by the late Mr. Marios Nousias, one of the most prolific and experienced film translators of the time, who maintained a permanent collaboration with Damaskinos-Michaelides S.A. (interview with the translator’s wife and former subtitler, Mrs. Mitsi Vrasivanopoulou, 2022).

⁵ Film distribution companies would normally cooperate with a freelance translator who worked permanently for the company. In cases where the translator lacked the required technical skills, the company would either collaborate with other distribution companies offering subtitling services, or with the few dedicated subtitling labs of the time based in Athens, Piraeus and Salonica. Damaskinos-Michaelides utilized their own subtitle lab situated in the company’s central premises. Film translators would first submit a written draft of the Greek subtitles to the distribution company. The subtitles would afterwards be typed and adjusted onto the film copy by a subtitle technician, prior to their submission for state approval (interviews with Panayotides and Kallipetis, 2017; 2021).

4. Narrativity and Censorship

The more traditional and popular conceptualization of censorship is that it is mostly enacted repressively by concrete institutions (censorship boards), often seen as bodies acting in isolation. New theories of censorship have moved beyond this strict binarism of free speech vs. censorship to re-conceptualize censorship as a productive, structural and even integral part of communication, which can acquire multiple forms and stem from the action of a variety of agents (Bunn, 2015)⁶. By adopting this underlying approach, this study will depart from a top-down and unidirectional examination model, by envisaging censorship as an inherently diffuse and multivalent rather than a merely repressive process. That said, the role of “private actors”⁷ is still central as are “state censors as actors internal to communication networks, rather than external, accidental features” (ibid: 25). According to this perspective, censorship has a constraining effect in more ways than one, and not unidirectionally along a binary axis ranging from the repressed to the free but, more crucially, by delimiting what can be legitimately debated. Thus, the proposal is to examine this non-monolithic process horizontally, by placing equal emphasis on all the stages along the axis, including on the mechanisms employed by the agents involved. This article will therefore explore the extent to which the manipulation of the Greek version of *Woodstock* could be envisioned as the end-product of a non-static and multilayered process, with multiple stages and forms, encompassing both state and non-state agents in its enforcement. As mentioned, this study will not overlook the various types of “direct control” of expression or of the power differentials which inevitably exist between censoring subjects, i.e., “the values and concerns of more traditional accounts of censorship” (Post, 1998: 35).

This endeavour can best benefit from the use of a theoretical framework which recognizes the role of human agents as (re)narrators of life events and experiences, emphasizes their crucial role in the dissemination, transformation or (re)configuration of social reality, and enables a more dynamic way of accounting for censorial actions in translation practice. Hence, censorship will be theorized as a dynamic form of (re)narration, the retelling of a story for the accomplishment of a specific purpose, a paradoxical production of speech, also often “working in implicit and inadvertent ways”, as Judith Butler suggests (1997:130). Re-narration could thus also be perceived to operate on a level prior to speech and constitute

⁶ In recent decades, new developments in fields such as sociology and history have converged to suggest alternative approaches to the study of censorship. These developments draw on the work of theorists such as Marx, Foucault, Bourdieu and Butler to think beyond the traditional opposition between free speech and censorship; now designated as ‘New Censorship Theory’ or ‘new theories of censorship’ by (among others) Burt (1994), Post (1998), Müller (2004) and Bunn (2015).

⁷ Understood as the structures that control the production and dissemination of cultural products, and the market in particular.

an implicit and illegible form of power that often preexists narration and regulates it tacitly, and often unconsciously (ibid.)⁸.

Within this framework, the various narratives that censors or (re)narrators choose to disseminate, suppress, or accentuate during the censorial process may in fact constitute a form of power which is “not merely privative and reducible to the tutelary function of the state, that is, the moral instruction of its citizens” (ibid.). Thus, what could also be examined in line with this underlying assumption is whether film translators would primarily censor themselves through the forms of discursive practice they had internalized, their choices being also determined by their disposition as translators and their internalization of the unofficial rules of the field in which they operated. These rules dictated what was acceptable or not and how a work had to be re-narrated to become acceptable, “possible discourse” within the Greek geo-political context of the time.

Narrative theory attributes equal validity and status to both institutional and marginal societal discourses, allowing us to study re-narration horizontally and as a multivalent process, involving (re)narrators with a range of social roles, all seen as integral yet not always equally powerful participants. More importantly, it provides the researcher with a set of useful tools which explain how different narratives can be configured, thus systematizing the study of “re-narration”. This set of analytical tools could also prove useful for the investigation of those – not merely extrinsic but also often implicit and internalized – censorial strategies utilized by agents involved in the rendition of the *Woodstock* script into Greek. It should however be noted that this paper does not explore individual agency as such, but the agency of all these actors who will have been involved in the subtitling decision-making process. Narrative theory allows us to view translations as entities with no easily definable boundaries, i.e., texts without a clear start or end point. Hence, the underlying principle adopted in this study also ties in with narrative theory in that it envisions censored translations as end-products of the intervening action of a variety of characters - in this case, (non)state agents. Agency is thus envisioned to be a non-static, “continuous flow of conduct [...] which becomes meaningful only when employed in relation to a particular context or community” (Kinnunen & Koskinen, 2010: 9).

The narrative categories used in the present analysis are those proposed by Somers (1994; 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994). Ontological narratives, otherwise known as personal narratives, are the personal stories that social actors use to make sense of their lives affecting activities, consciousness, attitudes and

⁸ A distinction ought to be drawn here between the act of (re-)narration and/or storytelling by means of textual or spoken discourse and the notion of narratives, which describes diffuse stories (in)forming our identity, beliefs and dispositions, which in turn feed into and are echoed and expressed through (re-)narration acts.

beliefs (ibid.: 618). Public narratives refer to those stories that are constructed and diffused by social institutions larger than the individual, ranging from a family to a whole nation. Meta-narratives, or master narratives are also crucial. They tend to be temporally and historically overarching and shared stories, within which individuals position themselves, with illustrative examples such as communism, fascism and their respective counter-narratives, anti-communism, and anti-fascism/oppression respectively.

According to Baker (2006), narrative theory helps us explore the different ways in which translators perform when they deal with conflicting narratives, and politically charged ones in particular. In the present context, this will be relevant to the strategies used by translation agents acting within the context of strict state censorship created by military officials. A central concept in narrative theory, and particularly in its application to translation studies, is that of 'frame'. Adapted from the work of Goffman (1986), Baker (2010) states that narrative framing constitutes the act of connecting the local narrative being elaborated in the text to the broader narrative in which it is embedded.

Hence, another narrative framing process utilized in our analysis is that of *framing by labelling*. This discursive process pertains to the use of a lexical item, term, or phrase for the characterization of a specific individual, group, event, or any other key component in a given narrative (Baker, 2006: 122). Any label used for the identification of a participant or element of a narrative is assumed to "provide an interpretative frame that guides and constrains our response to the narrative in question" (ibid.). Another labelling device which can constrain the meaning of a particular narrative is that of *euphemism*. Euphemistic terms, broadly used in the political scene, are often coined to individuals, groups, or specific concepts, and can guide our interpretation of the narrative in question.

One of the key components of narrativity that will prove significant for our textual analysis is *selective appropriation*, due to its importance for the formation of a particular narrative. With regards to translation practice, this mainly refers to linguistic or paralinguistic textual choices within individual translations. Selective appropriation of textual material has served as a useful censorial tool, realized by means of omissions or additions "designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of the narrative embedded in the source text" (Baker, 2006: 114). The banning and exclusion of supposedly provocative films by Greek film evaluation Boards during the Junta constitutes an example of "higher-level selectivity" (ibid.).

5. Counter-narratives in *Woodstock*

Woodstock was directed in such a way as to be read as a political film (Rallidi, 1970). This directorial aim was mainly realized through the realistic depiction of the festival attendees' subversive lifestyle and the stage performances of militant artists. Consequently, it could be stated that the filmic representation of this event expressed and promoted a number of interrelated, politically charged narratives. The higher order meta-narrative of "resistance to state oppression", expressed in the original through songs and interviews of young attendees, encompasses public and personal narratives which have more local significance but also function as smaller episodes of this same narrative. The public narrative of "opposition to the US involvement in the Vietnam War", advocated by the broad resistance movement of the early 1960s, is for instance embedded within the higher order meta-narrative of "resistance to state oppression", and informed by it. Another meta-narrative present in the film is that of stances towards and against "communism". This narrative is elaborated in the film through militant songs which criticize the anti-communist rage of the US government and advocate the perception that Americans used anti-communism as a scapegoat to hide their imperialistic intentions. This perception was a central element of the "opposition to the war" public narrative (Guttmann, 1969: 57).

"Hippyism" constitutes another public narrative embraced by a large group of individuals, whose stories and subversive ideologies are also depicted through *Woodstock*. Aspects of this narrative are inscribed in the film by the festival goers and by the artists themselves, and through the depiction of communal lifestyle habits, drug experimentation, liberal attitudes towards sexuality, nudism, as well as anti-establishment references. It is also interrelated with the rest of the film's advocated narratives, in that it is embedded within the meta-narrative of resistance to state oppression and the anti-war narrative. In the film, "hippyism" also encompasses smaller ontological narratives expressed by young festival attendees who are depicted to engage in acts of nudism and drug experimentation, or express their dissent towards aspects of the dominant narrative, as normally elaborated by hippies.

6. Framing the anti-war narrative through translation: festival songs

According to Wadleigh, *Woodstock's* main messages are primarily expressed through the film's song lyrics, foregrounding the political dimension of the event (qtd. in Douvlis, 2013). However, an analysis of the Greek version submitted for state approval reveals that the most overtly political and hence censorable songs were not subtitled into Greek. Viewers would therefore need to pay more attention

to the sound and resort to their potentially limited English proficiency to make sense of the lyrics and their intended political messages. This is clearly an example of *selective appropriation* and *higher-level selectivity*.

The majority of songs that were left untranslated were outright political, openly criticizing the war in Vietnam or promoting social resistance and communist ideals. For instance, Arlo Guthrie's "Marching to the Dunkirk War", which contains direct references to the nuclear bombings in Korea, was not given Greek subtitles. Joan Baez's "Swing low, sweet chariot", the lyrics of which carried allusions to worker exploitation were also eliminated. Crosby, Stills and Nash's overtly political song "Long time before the Dawn", disseminating messages of "resistance to state oppression" constitutes another case in point, as its lyrics could have been read as an invitation of Greeks to "speak out against the madness" and react against social injustice. Greek viewers with English proficiency would be able to interpret these songs. Therefore, some of them could relate to the messages in the untranslated songs by projecting their own experience and interpretation of state repression onto the lyrics. Also, had a translation been available, the Board members would have been alerted to lyrics running counter to the anti-communist and anti-hippy public narratives. Consequently, any translation into Greek would have caused an immediate censorial reaction on the part of the Board.

The translation agents did subtitle a small number of songs, thereby preserving one of the film's main intentions: the propagation of the anti-Vietnam war public narrative. These songs were Joan Baez's militant "Joe Hill", Richie Havens' "Freedom" and "The Vietnam Song" by Country, Joe and the Fish. "Joe Hill" was a song specifically chosen by Baez to denounce the unjust treatment of the drafted American soldiers in Vietnam. She dedicated the song to her husband, who had refused to be drafted for the Vietnam War and was sent to prison. In the original, Joan Baez introduced the song by referring to her husband's experience of physical violence inside the prison and to the fact that he was singing the song in an effort to convince other prisoners to begin a hunger strike. This introductory speech was subtitled, yet significantly condensed, while some of the details around her husband's tortures in prison were generalised. The subversive and revolutionary content of the song's lyrics was, on the other hand, noticeable in the Greek subtitles (*ibid.*). The lyric "The Copper Bosses killed you Joe, they shot you Joe says I" refers to the miners' strike in 1912 Utah and to the legendary activist Joe Hill, who was (in the song at least) shot dead by the copper mine owners (Smith, 1969). The term "copper bosses" remained untranslated, yet the context was clarified through the inclusion in the subtitle of the word "strike" [απεργία]/"They killed you Joe, they shot you in the strike" [Σε σκότωσαν Τζό, σε πυροβόλησαν στην απεργία]. This clarification did not go unnoticed by the Board, and in the first re-evaluation (November 17 1970), its members requested the deletion of both this lyric and Baez's song introduction, given that the Greek subtitles could be read as

an allusion to state and/or police violence in Greece. The Board also requested the elimination of all other lyrics in the song echoing the narrative of resistance to state oppression, thus once again demonstrating a clear intention to erase any indication of the most politically charged and revolutionary narratives disseminated through the film (see Appendix Table 2, *Woodstock* License document No. 24499, GDPI film index)⁹.

The “Vietnam Song” by Country, Joe and the Fish was an emblematic anti-war song which embodied the Vietnam War era. Its lyrics propagated the anti-war narrative by containing direct references to the US government’s anti-communist campaign of the 1960s. The song could also be easily read as a revolutionary subversive call to oppose the Greek government’s meta-narratives of anti-communism and anti-hippyism. Self-censorship reduced the subtitles provided for this song, though the end result was a re-framing that would still transmit the song’s intended message. In particular, the translation agents significantly condensed the first part of the song, completely omitting the final part, which contained direct references to communism, state oppression and the American government’s anti-communist tirade (see Appendix, Table 1). However, some subtitling remained, for example: “what are we fighting for”, “will you stop the war”, which successfully transferred the irony and the anti-war narrative of the original. This also did not go unnoticed by the Board, and in their first re-evaluation (November 17 1970), its members requested the deletion of the scene which contained those translated lyrics, thus once again completely eliminating any reference to the film’s anti-Vietnam war narrative (*Woodstock* License document No. 24499, GDPI film index).

Richie Havens’ emblematic song “Freedom” was faithfully subtitled, despite the fact that the regime would generally not have tolerated the presence of the word “freedom” nor its derivatives in art and literature. Board members were alert to this reference, and usually eliminated all mentions of these taboo words from Greek films (Glavinas, 2018). Yet, in this instance, the Greek subtitles submitted for approval did appear on screen in the first week of screenings, consequently maintaining one of the main sociopolitical narratives echoed through the film.

This song in particular caused dramatic reactions during the film premiere, which did not go unnoticed by the regime (interview with Michaelides, 2022). In all probability the regime recognized that ‘freedom’ would also be interpreted as meaning freedom from governmental oppression. So, they demanded the deletion of the word during the film’s third and final re-evaluation (December 13 1970),

⁹ The last and most militant lyrics of “Joe Hill” were also eliminated from the Greek version by the Board (see Table 2): Subtitle 79: ...συνεχίζει τον αγώνα... 80: σε κάθε ορυχείο...σε κάθε εργοστάσιο... 81: εκεί που οι άνθρωποι υπερασπίζονται τα δικαιώματά τους.. 82: εκεί θα βρεις τον Τζο Χιλ! Subtitle 79: Went on to organize, 80: In every mine and mill, 81: Where working men defend their rights, 82: It's there you'll find Joe Hill (backtranslation from Greek).

fearing that the frenzied reactions among young viewers¹⁰, which were triggered by this reference, would continue in later screenings (note on *Woodstock*'s cuts, GDPI index).

One of the very few political songs that were initially subtitled into Greek, evading the Board's interference, was John Sebastian's "The Younger Generation" (Greek subtitle document, GDPI index). This song touches upon the ideological differences stemming from the generation gap between parents and children, and influencing the relationship between them. Great care was taken to eliminate overt references to drugs (e.g.: "LSD"), or to euphemize in the subtitles. For instance, "puffing dragons" (smoking cannabis) was reduced to "smoking cigarettes" (*ibid.*, see Appendix Table 3). The "generation gap" narrative, however, was still transmitted, although in a more indirect way. It could be inferred that the inclusion of subtitles for this song denotes an intention to foreground the fact that the young hippies' subversive and anti-systemic conduct might stem from a more natural yet naïve impulse to revolt against previous generations, which was characteristic of their age. Hence, it could be argued that the accentuation of the "generation gap" narrative may not have been accidental, as it appears that the latter was being foregrounded as a causal argument justifying the supposedly subversive conduct of younger festival attendees. In a way, the Greek version was now indirectly challenging the credibility of the hippies' positioning and undermining the politically charged narratives that hippies subscribed to. This could entail yet another attempt on the part of translation agents to prevent Board members from potentially demanding additional cuts.

Prior to submitting the subtitles for Board examination, the translation agents chose not to provide subtitles for all the festival songs presented in the documentary. Instead, they only subtitled a small number of songs, as a way to eliminate any obvious anti-conservatism. By doing so they deftly suppressed (through translation at least) the film's outright political messages. Nevertheless, their effort to preserve at least partly some of the songs' anti-war messages proved to be futile. The Board ultimately demanded the elimination of all translated lyrics inscribing any form of politically charged narrative.

7. Framing the socio-political 'Other' through translation: hippyism

a. Framing by labeling

¹⁰ Reportedly, when the song "Freedom" was heard at the premiere, great commotion was caused, as the audience started to clap and sing along enthusiastically, ignoring the presence of police officers in the movie theatre (interview with Michaelides, 2022).

Interestingly, at the very beginning of the film, the translation agents inserted an introductory text which was not present in the original. In this entirely new text, there was a clear attempt to foreground the peaceful intentions of the young festival attendees, by underlining the fact that they gathered “not as fearsome opponents of the Public Order, but as people who loved music and hated war” (subtitle document, *Woodstock* license application). The aim of this added text was to introduce the theme of the film and potentially influence the censors’ perception of it, by making clear from the onset that young attendees “did not constitute a threat to the Public Order” (ibid.). This label was also broadly used by governmental, conservative media and had by the time turned into a slogan to characterize those who were considered to be social outcasts threatening the nation’s public security (Michalos, 1970). The term was therefore already in the public sphere and formed a significant part of the Junta’s meta-narrative of “anti-communism”.

By *naming* attendees as “peaceful young people” who simply “love life and hate war” instead of just “hippies”, the agents involved in the subtitling immediately accentuated the anti-war narrative of the film, simultaneously suppressing any indication of the public narratives of (neo)anarchism and leftism. In other words, the political dimension of the documentary was downplayed by foregrounding the attendees’ non-involvement in any political or student movement. This could be read as an attempt on the part of translation agents to re-frame the film’s subversive content from the onset in a way that would prevent the censors from focusing on the film’s political dimension.

It should be noted that the translator of *Woodstock* was an experienced professional who enjoyed a great level of autonomy due to his trusted skills (interviews with his wife, Mrs. Vrasivanopoulou, 2021; 2022). He would often resort to this or similar reframing strategies, thereby exemplifying an awareness of the rules on acceptability adopted in subtitling, as well as of those propagated and usually favoured by the regime and its institutions. What is more, he would even at times deploy particularly creative solutions for the rendition of sensitive expressions (normally around sex, genitalia, and revolutionary politics), to render translations more acceptable for the evaluation committee members, including the use of punctuation (ellipsis), or the creation of neologisms for the rendition of coarse expressions, some of which later on became slogans (ibid.).

According to the 1967 Law on cinema censorship, “all projected Greek and foreign films should promote the healthy values of the Greek Orthodox Church and not exert a negative influence on the mores of the Greek youth, by prompting them to anti-social acts of violence” (*Official Gazette* 27.09.1967, my translation). In this instance, it appears that the translation agents attempted to demonstrate their awareness of one of the main film censorship criteria by ensuring the Board members that *Woodstock* would not transmit any “unhealthy values”, hence their

foregrounding of a narrative depicting the festival as a mere celebration of peace, love, and music by good-mannered and peaceful young people.

b. Selective appropriation through omission

Considered as indications of the marginalized “hippyism” narrative, the original film script references describing drug experimentation were systematically eliminated from the subtitles, as they were thought to undermine the dominant puritanical mores which informed the re-narration attempts of the state censors. Against this backdrop, translation agents mainly turned to *selective appropriation through omission* and also to reframing strategies, adding moralistic glosses not present in the original text. A close comparison between the original (uncensored) film script and the Greek subtitles also revealed a clear tendency on the part of the translation agents to significantly *euphemize* such references. Of the film’s 25 references to drugs, only five were subtitled in the original translation, and each one was significantly toned down.

All slang terms describing hallucinatory drugs and sexual intercourse such as “poison”, “bum trip” and sexual intercourse, “balling” were left untranslated. Interestingly, a five-minute scene where a young couple is interviewed about their free-wheeling lifestyle and relationships did not even form part of the Greek subtitles submitted for evaluation. Greek spectators were therefore either exposed to the scene without being able to understand the couple, or the entire scene was in fact cut by the translation agents themselves prior to evaluation by the Board. In the scene where the stage performance announcer Chip Monck warns about the quality of “brown acid” at the festival, the Greek subtitles read more like a polemic against drug use itself. The announcer has been made to adopt a moralistic tone directly “warning” rather than “advising” the spectators to “stay away” from “all types of acid” (Greek subtitle document, *Woodstock* license application). In the original, Monck is warning attendees to avoid only one type of (dangerous) acid, and not drug use in general.

In a scene where young hippies are depicted to engage in spiritual exercises while practicing yoga meditation, the English dialogue contains numerous direct references to drugs. The effects of yoga meditation practice are also at some point compared with the spiritual transcendence experienced through psychedelic drugs (Wadleigh, 1970). The translation agents nonetheless excluded any comparison between yoga and drugs, as well as all other direct references to drugs (Greek subtitle document, GDPI film index).

It is a fact that film translators who were active during the Junta years would often resort to self-censorship in the process of translating films with overtly political or anti-conservative references, despite their general effort to transmit as

faithfully as possible original nuances and culture-specific items (interview with Martinegos, 2021). They were particularly alert to names of leftist and/or communist leaders or public figures (ibid.). However, it had by then become an “internalized rule”, also endorsed by certain distributors, that vulgar terms pertaining to profanity, genitalia and sex would need to be euphemized in a way that would comply with the morally strict censorial framework imposed by the regime (interview with Panayotides, 2021).

However, despite their efforts to align the subtitles with the regime’s favoured narratives, state agents once again decided to eliminate parts of an already manipulated narrative, thereby signaling a clear dynamic existing in the censorship apparatus, and demonstrating a position of authority in the film examination process. According to post-production agents of the time, this authority was to be respected and adhered to (interview with Panayotides, 2021).

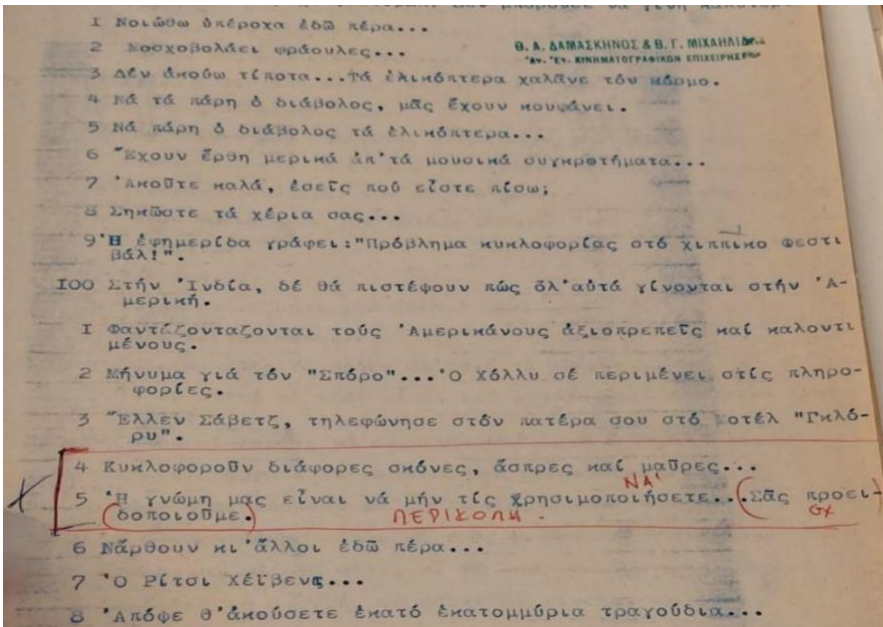


Figure 2. Preventive censorship in the translation of drug reference, Greek dialogue document, *Woodstock* application, 1969.

8. Framing communism in translation: selective appropriation

Instances of *selective appropriation of textual material through omission/elimination* of references to communism have been evidenced throughout the subtitling process. As already mentioned, in the “Vietnam Song”, no overt references, such as “commies”, “get the reds” were included in the subtitles. Furthermore, overt references to the concept of anarchism were broadly avoided in translation given the taboo connotations and conceptual links with communism. Indeed, the regime was circulating “anarcho-communist” as a derogatory term to describe social outcasts and opponents of the *archi* (αρχή): any opponent of the government. Consequently, the personal narrative of a festival-goer in the film who clearly expressed the view that the government had sabotaged the festival by “seeding clouds” over the venue was transferred in the Greek subtitles, yet the anti-system label “fascist pigs” pointing to the involvement of the US government in the sabotage, was not transferred. An inclusion of this term in the subtitles would indeed be embedded within a meta-narrative of resistance against state oppression and against the state’s anti-“anarcho-communism” public narrative, or it could be read as an allusion to the colonels themselves. As this appears to be a systematic re-framing strategy adopted throughout the subtitling, it could be assumed that the translation agents tried to eliminate the most explicit linguistic manifestations of this public narrative from the subtitles.

9. Translatorial agency and the censorship apparatus

During the film’s second re-examination, the Board cut all those scenes containing translated songs and the very few references to drug use and nudism which had already been re-narrated following self-imposed restrictive rules by the translation agents themselves, as evidenced through the notes and the second screening license document signed by Board members after the film re-examination (17 November 1970).

Interestingly, however, according to a letter submitted to the Board by the Damaskinos-Michaelides distribution company one day before the scheduled premiere in Athens (November 28, 1970), the company had decided not to implement the scene cuts imposed by the Board on two film copies of *Woodstock* that had in the meantime been imported to Greece (on November 21, 1970). Instead, they opted to completely omit the Greek subtitles from the screen and “instead leave the original/English dialogues untranslated” (*Woodstock* license application). In other words, instead of completely cutting the scene to the detriment of the film’s coherence and semantic load, they went on to partly re-frame the film, merely eliminating the subtitles appearing in those scenes. This has

also been evidenced and verified through an analysis of the deleted scenes of *Woodstock* included in Douvlis' documentary *Affection to the People* (2013), as well as from the original 35mm. copy of the film that was screened at the time, now at the Greek Film Archive. This tangible evidence demonstrates that the deleted scenes did not contain any Greek subtitles, while the "Vietnam Song" by Country Jo and the Fish was left accompanied by the English 'singalong' subtitles, which appear in the original film and could not be removed in post-production (Wadleigh, 1970).

Consequently, by not providing any Greek subtitles where the cuts had been imposed, we can hypothesise that the translation agents were indirectly drawing the viewers' attention to the act of state censorship. Furthermore, viewers would be simultaneously exposed to the highly suggestive visual and auditory channels; that is, the explicit festival songs and sometimes provocative scenes accompanying them. Hence, despite the absence of a Greek translation, their exposure to the original soundtrack and/or English singalong subtitles enabled the Greek audience to understand some of the film's hidden narratives. This unorthodox method of evading state censorship might have rendered the regime's top-down interventions partially ineffective, and functioned as a framing strategy, drawing the viewers' attention to the very act of re-narration.

Consequently, despite the Board's intervention, the Greek audience would still have been able to recognize the suppression and curtailment of their political rights and freedoms in the re-narrated version, and more easily "frame" the film within an anti-oppression narrative, thus "projecting their own experience of oppression onto the global oppressive other" (Asimakoulas, 2009: 35). The subversive undertones of the film were still recognizable, and could therefore serve as a stimulus triggering reactions among the Greek viewers, who would have appropriated elements of the film's subversive content and interpreted them according to their own experiences and repressed freedoms. This inevitable and at the time common parallelism between global and local narratives of resistance potentially served as a driving force behind the unruly demonstrations that followed the *Woodstock* premiere. The screening had acquired the status of a political act, an "act of strategic mimicry" (Papanikolaou, 2007: 106).

Finally, it emerges that the translation agents left visible marks of self-censorship by drawing lines and leaving spaces in places where entire scenes had been omitted, as evidenced in the original translation document submitted for evaluation (Figure 4, GDPI film index). By deploying these visual paralinguistic features, translation agents were signaling their intention to "frame" their Greek translation within the regime's narratives; a feature designed to ensure the Board of their "intention to stay within the prescribed frame space for their activity" (Baker, 2006: 110).

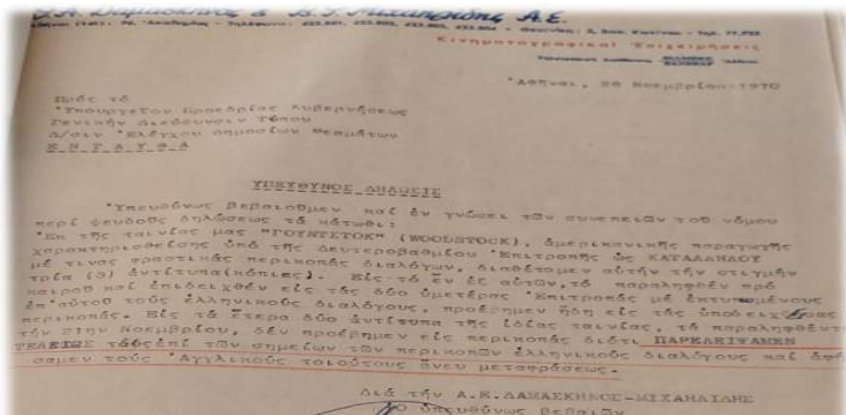


Figure 3. “We COMPLETELY ELIMINATED the Greek dialogues¹¹ appearing during the indicated cut scenes and left their corresponding English ones untranslated.” Letter submitted to the GDPI by Damaskinos-Michaelides S.A., State Archives of Greece, November 28th, 1970.

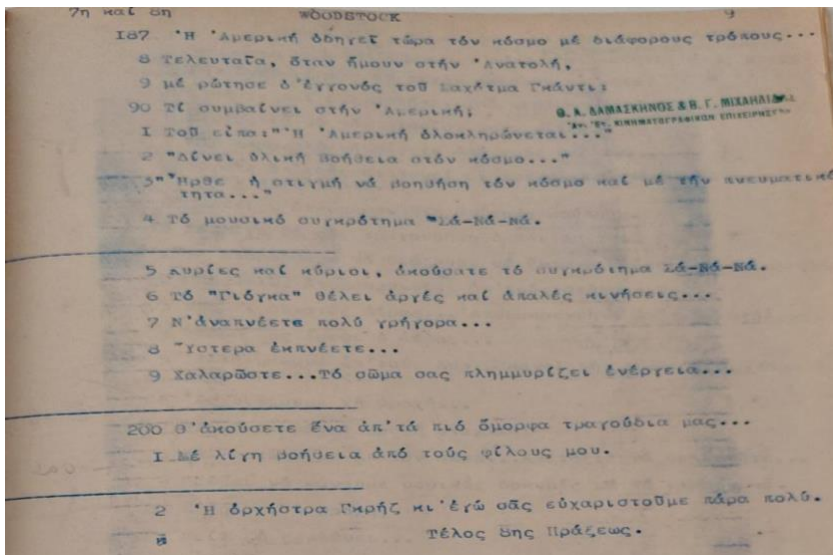


Figure 4. Lines indicating scene cuts, typed in the subtitle document of *Woodstock* submitted for screening approval, State Archives of Greece, November 1970.

¹¹ The terms “Greek dialogues” and “Greek titles” were used in the field and by the Board interchangeably, to describe the Greek subtitles.

10. Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that the translation agents who were involved in the creation of the Greek subtitles for *Woodstock* were engaged in an effort to creatively re-frame the socio-politically subversive dimension of the film through the omission or suppression of messages which undermined or challenged acceptable social behaviors. What is more, the translation agents would preventively leave entire scenes untranslated so as to not echo those outright subversive narratives that could not be easily re-framed. This was a systematic tendency which occasionally reduced the semantic coherence and quality of the film. Re-framing strategies were reserved for the translation of less openly provocative parts of the film. Notwithstanding this voluntary self-censorship, the Board's intervention was more drastic, especially with regards to references suggesting politically subversive narratives. The Board members made further cuts to prevent any evidence of unpalatable language opposing the regime's conservative and anti-communist agenda being either heard or read by a Greek audience.

Finally, though, it can be stated that the distributors also deftly evaded state censorship by refusing to implement the scene cuts imposed in the penultimate evaluation, merely removing the Greek subtitles created for them. The change in the distributors' censorial tactics right after the Board's decision to cut most of the original footage and their use of particularly creative and experimental re-framing strategies may be viewed as the outcome of the heavy pressure imposed on translation agents at the time and an indication of their agency. This action also denotes a final attempt on their part to preserve the coherence of the film and by extension its commercial success.

The "foreignness" of the original was on the one hand preserved, given that the subtitling did not remove the audible soundtrack. However, the songs were heavily reframed and transformed when subtitled to meet the expectations of the Board. The re-narration strategies exercised and incorporated in the subtitling of *Woodstock* could thus be perceived as a reflection of the industry's rules regarding the acceptability of film translations on the one hand, and the regime's socio-political agenda on the other. This action also denotes a final attempt by the translation agents to preserve the coherence of the film and by extension its commercial success. The political films screened in Greece during the years of the military junta constituted a pertinent, if not exclusive, information platform for international affairs, counterculture movements and ideologies which were at the time growing on a global scale. The role of the film translation agents in the overall reception of audiovisual products was now all the more significant since the translation itself was a re-construction of the product and its messages. The translation agents' role was proactive and radical in the development and dissemination of the stories presented through the film scripts, and to a certain

extent these scripts shaped the structure and dynamics of Greek society, as well as the (counter)narratives circulating in it.

Finally, it becomes clear that the Greek subtitles were the product of a complex re-narration process, involving those participating in the translation, members of the evaluation Board and other institutions.

The Greek film translation market during the dictatorship remains largely underexplored. Socio-narrative theory can contribute significantly to our understanding and analysis of the strategies through which film translation agents re-narrate aspects of counter-narratives encoded in subversive scripts. The theory serves to illuminate the role of film translators (and other agents) in ideological manipulation as well as facilitating the study of translator agency in professional contexts. Furthermore, a horizontal examination of re-narration processes serves to offer a holistic and comprehensive account which reveals the inherent complexity of translation censorship mechanisms. This approach may facilitate translation history researchers, especially in cases where the textual or oral history data at their disposal is fragmented and/or cannot provide clues about a translator's individual decision-making processes and/or agency. The combination of the underlying principles of new theories of censorship with the analytical tools of narrativity may also enable a more dynamic and nuanced way of accounting for censorial actions in translation practice.

This study has hopefully also provided scope for further research on the role of film translation agents in post-war Greek history specifically, and the history of film translation and censorship more generally.

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Appendix

Table 1
“Vietnam Song”, Country Joe and the Fish

English Script	Greek Subtitles	Backtranslation
<p>What are we fighting for? Don't ask me, I don't give a damn, next stop is Vietnam; And it's five, six, seven, Open up the pearly gates, Well, there ain't no time to wonder why, Whoopee! we're all gonna die.</p>	<p>Ένα, δύο, τρία...Γιατί πολεμούμε; Για το Βιετνάμ! Πέντε, έξι, επτά...στον Παράδεισο θα μπούμε...Δεν έχουμε καιρό να ρωτήσουμε γιατί...Θα πεθάνουμε όλοι. Θα σταματήσετε τον πόλεμο αφού δεν ξέρετε να τραγουδήσετε;</p>	<p>One, two, three...What are we fighting for? For Vietnam! Five, six, seven...we're all going to Heaven...We've got no time to ask why...We're all going to die. Will you stop the war since you don't know how to sing?</p>
<p>Come on Wall Street, don't be slow, there's plenty good money to be made. By supplying the Army with the tools of its trade, but just hope and pray that if they drop the bomb, they drop it on the Viet Cong. Don't ask me, I don't give a damn. Next stop is Vietnam. Well, come on generals, let's move fast; Your big chance has come at last. Now you can go out and get those reds' Cause the only</p>	<p>Cut in translation</p> <p>Cut in translation</p>	

good commie is the one that's dead.		
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Table 2
“Joe Hill”, Joan Baez

English Script	Greek Subtitles	Backtranslation
I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night,	Χθες ονειρευτήκα πως είδα τον Τζο Χιλ	I dreamed that I saw Joe Hill last night,
Alive as you and me. Says I “But Joe, you’re ten years dead”	Ζωντανό σαν εσένα κι εμένα Του λέω Μα Τζο, είσαι δέκα χρόνια πεθαμένος	Alive as you and me. Says I But Joe, you're ten years dead
“I never died” said he, “I never died” said he.	Δεν πέθανα, μου λέει...	I didn't die, he says to me...
“The Copper Bosses killed you Joe, They shot you Joe” says I.	[Board cut] “Σε σκότωσαν, Τζο, σε πυροβόλησαν στη απεργία”	[Board cut] “They killed you, Joe, they shot you in the strike”
“Takes more than guns to kill a man” Says Joe “I didn’t die” Says Joe “I didn’t die”	Δεν φτάνουν οι σφαίρες για να σκοτώσεις άνθρωπο... Δεν πέθανα...	Takes more than guns to kill a man ...I didn't die...
“In Salt Lake City, Joe,” says I, Him standing by my bed, “They framed you on a murder charge,” Says Joe, “But I ain’t dead,” Says Joe, “But I ain’t dead.”	Cut in translation	

<p>And standing there as big as life. And smiling with his eyes. Says Joe “What they can never kill</p> <p>Went on to organize, Went on to organize” From San Diego up to Maine, In every mine and mill, Where working men defend their rights, It’s there you find Joe Hill, It’s there you find Joe Hill!</p> <p>I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night, Alive as you and me. Says I “But Joe, you’re ten years dead” “I never died” said he, “I never died” said he.</p>	<p>Στεκόταν μπρος μου με το χαμόγελο στα μάτια, λέει ο Τζο. Λέει ο Τζο: “Αυτός που δεν μπόρεσαν να σκοτώσουν”</p> <p>[Board cut] ...συνεχίζει τον αγώνα... σε κάθε ορυχείο...σε κάθε εργοστάσιο... εκεί που οι άνθρωποι υπερασπίζονε τα δικαιώματα τους... εκεί θα βρεις τον Τζο Χιλλ.</p> <p>Cut in translation</p>	<p>And standing there, smiling with his eyes, Says Joe: “The one they couldn’t kill”</p> <p>[Board cut] ...Went on to organize... In every mine... and every mill... Where working men defend their rights... It’s there you’ll find Joe Hill.</p>
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Table 3
“Younger Generation”, John Sebastian

English Script	Greek Subtitles	Backtranslation
Like, hey pop. Can I go ride my zoom? It goes two hundred miles an hour, suspended on balloons.	Μπαμπά, ν' ανέβω στ' αυτοκινητάκια που τρέχουνε σαν αστραπή;	Dad, can I go ride these fast little cars?
And can I put a droplet of this new stuff on my tongue? And imagine puffing dragons, while you sit and wreck your lungs.	Μπαμπά, να δοκιμάσω αυτό που παίρνουνε οι φίλοι μου? Ενώ εσύ χαλάς με το τσιγάρο τα πνεμόνια;	Dad, can I try the stuff my friends are taking? While you are destroying your lungs smoking?
And I must me permissive, understanding of the younger generation. And then I know that all I've learned, my kid assumes. And all my deepest worries must be his cartoons.	Θα ξέρω τότε πως όσα έχω μάθει... Το παιδί τα ξέρει και θα γελά με τις ανησυχίες μου.	And then 'll know that everything I've learnt, My kid already knows and will laugh at me and my concerns...
And still I'll try to tell him all the things I've done, relating to what he can do when he becomes a man.	Θα του δίνω συμβουλές...τι να κάνει όταν θα γίνει άνδρας...	I'll be giving him advice on what to do when he becomes a man...
And still he'll stick his fingers in the fan. And hey pop, my girlfriend's only three. She's got her own videophone, And she's taking LSD.	Μα εκείνος θα γελάει και θα λέει: Το κορίτσι μου, μπαμπά, ξέρει όλα τα κόλπα...	But he'll be laughing and saying... My girlfriend, dad, knows all the tricks...

And now that we're best friends, she wants to give a taste to me.	Θέλει κι εμένα να μου μάθει μερικά...	She also wants to teach me some...
But what's the matter daddy? How come you're turning green? Can it be that you can't live up to your dreams?	Γιατί κατσούφιασες, μπαμπά; Ξέχασες λοιπόν τα όνειρά σου;	How come you've turned green, dad? You forgot about your dreams?